

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 221439

NODIS

CHEROKEE NAIROBI FOR DICK MOOSE ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT PRETORIA 5121 ACTION SECSTATE DATED AUG 30:

QTE: S E C R E T PRETORIA 5121

NODIS CHEROKEE

FROM LOW

DEPT PLEASE PASS IMMEDIATE TO DICK MOOSE IN NAIROBI
AND TO LUSAKA, DAR ES SALAAM AND MAPUTO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PEDV, PINT, RH

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: CONFIRMATION OF SET-BACK TO ALL
PARTIES MEETING

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: CONVERSATIONS WHICH GRAHAM AND I HAD ON TUESDAY,
AUGUST 29, WITH CABINET SECRETARY JACK GAYLARD AND DEPUTY PRIME
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MINISTER DAVID SMITH CONFIRM THAT A NUMBER OF RECENT EVENTS HAVE
RESULTED IN AT LEAST A TEMPORARY SET-BACK TO THE PROSPECTS OF AN
ALL-PARTY MEETING. THE MAIN REASONS ARE THE INTRANSIGENCE OF
MUZOREWA AND THE DELAY IN NKOMO'S PROMISE TO SUBORDINATE MUGABE AND
MEET AGAIN WITH SMITH. SECONDARY REASONS ARE THE DISSATISFACTION
AND RESISTANCE OF THE WHITE POPULATION TO FURTHER "CONCESSIONS" AND
DAVID OWEN'S PUBLIC COMMENTS ABOUT THE IMMINENCE OF A MEETING AND

HOLDING UP OF NKOMO AS THE "FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE." END SUMMARY.

2. ACCORDING TO DAVID SMITH, A CONCERTED EFFORT HAS BEEN MADE IN THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND CABINET COMMITTEE DURING THE LAST FEW WEEKS TO CREATE A UNIFIED (INTERNAL) NATIONALIST MOVEMENT ON THE BASIS OF WHICH THE SALISBURY GROUP WOULD ACCEPT TO GO TO AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING. THE EFFORT MET WITH CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS. EVERY AFRICAN MEMBER ACCEPTED THE NEED FOR SUCH STEPS EXCEPT ONE -- THE BISHOP -- WHO SAT STOLIDLY THROUGH THE MEETINGS, TOOK THE IDEA BACK TO HIS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, AND THEN, TO THE EXASPERATION OF ALL, ANNOUNCED HIS REJECTION OF BOTH IDEAS. DAVID SMITH MAY WELL NOT KNOW WHAT MUZOREWA KNEW -- THAT IAN SMITH WAS GOING TO MEET NKOMO BUT, ACCORDING TO GAYLARD, HAS NOT YET REPORTED BACK TO THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS ON THE RESULTS OF THE MEETING. THUS, THE BISHOP'S FEARS THAT IAN SMITH MAY DO A DEAL WITH NKOMO, WHICH HAVE ALWAYS DOMINATED HIS THINKING (CAUSING HIM FINALLY TO SIGN THE MARCH 3RD AGREEMENT), LEAD HIM, I BELIEVE, TO HOLD TENACIOUSLY TO WHAT HE HAS WITHOUT A CHANGE.

3. AT THE SAME TIME, GAYLARD EXPLAINED HE (AND IAN SMITH) BELIEVE THAT AS HE HAD EXPECTED, NKOMO IS HAVING DIFFICULTY LINING MUGABE UP TO MEET WITH SMITH AND ACCEPT THE NUMBER TWO POSITION IN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. EVEN WITH THE COMBINED PRESSURE OF KAUNDA, GARBA, OBASANJO, MACHEL, AND NYERERE, MUGABE HAS RESISTED BEING BROUGHT INTO LINE. THUS GAYLARD IS NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT ANYTHING WILL COME OF THE DIRECT TALKS WITH NKOMO WHICH HE NOW INSISTS ARE SECRET

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A NECESSARY PREREQUISITE TO AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING. WITHOUT AN UNDERSTANDING WITH NKOMO, SAYS GAYLARD, AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING WOULD FAIL; MUZOREWA WOULD REFUSE TO MOVE OFF OF THE MARCH 3RD AGREEMENT, AND THE SALISBURY GROUP WOULD BE ACCUSED OF INTRAN-SIGENCE. IF THE UK AND US WOULD GIVE AN ASSURANCE THAT THEY WOULD SUPPORT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN THE EVENT THE MEETING FAILED, GAYLARD SAID, THAT WOULD BE ANOTHER THING. BUT HE KNEW THAT WOULD NOT HAPPEN. "YOU WILL KEEP ON SUPPORTING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT," HE SAID TO OUR PROTESTS. WE ASKED GAYLARD WHY, IF HE WAS PUTTING SUCH IMPORTANCE ON A MEETING WITH NKOMO, THEY HAD CHOSEN THIS MOMENT TO IMPOSE CENSORSHIP ON MENTION OF ITS NAME, LEADERS, AND ACTIVITY. THIS COULD NOT HELP IN REACHING AGREEMENT WITH NKOMO. GAYLARD PASSED THIS OFF, SAYING IT HAD NO SIGNIFICANCE; IT WOULD NOT DETER NKOMO IF HE WANTED A MEETING; AND THE OPPOSITION WAS TREATED BETTER IN RHODESIA THAN ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA.

4. BOTH GAYLARD AND DAVID SMITH MENTIONED THE GROWING PROBLEM OF WHITE CRITICISM OF THE DIRECTION OF EVENTS. WE SAID THIS SHOULD ENCOURAGE THEM TO MOVE TO A MEETING. SMITH DOUBTED A WHITE REFERENDUM COULD BE WON AT THE MOMENT AND SAW A MEETING AS HELPING THEM GET OFF THE HOOK, BUT BOTH STILL SAW WHITE DISSATISFACTION

WITH SMITH AS A DETERRENT TO A MEETING.

5. THE FIRST THING BOTH MEN POINTED TO AS HAVING CHANGED THE CLIMATE WAS RECENT STATEMENTS BY DAVID OWEN ON THE IMMINENCE OF A MEETING. DAVID SMITH SAID THE BISHOP DEEPLY DISTRUSTS OWEN. (ONLY THE AMERICAN CHURCH GROUPS STILL HAVE INFLUENCE ON HIM.) BUT OWEN'S WEEKEND INTERVIEW PRAISING NKOMO AND CALLING HIM THE "FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE" HAD CONFIRMED MUZOREWA'S WORST SUSPICIONS. IN FACT, I BELIEVE THESE STATEMENTS ONLY PROVIDED AN EXCUSE FOR POSITIONS ALREADY TAKEN, BUT THEY DID NOT HELP.

6. DAVID SMITH, WHO VERY MUCH WANTS A MEETING, STRONGLY ADVISED US TO RELIEVE THE PRESSURE FOR THE NEXT COUPLE OF WEEKS. HE BELIEVES THE UANC HAS SERIOUS PROBLEMS OF DISSENSION AND MAY
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BREAK APART. THIS WILL FORCE NEW ALIGNMENTS AND AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING WOULD FOLLOW NATURALLY. CERTAINLY UNTIL WE SEE WHETHER A FOLLOW-UP SMITH-NKOMO MEETING OCCURS SOON, WE WILL HAVE TO WAIT. A RECENT VISITOR TO MUGABE, TEKERE, AND MUTASA, SAID THEY COMPLAINED OF BEING IGNORED BY GRAHAM/LOW. WE ARE THEREFORE CONSIDERING RETURNING TO SALISBURY FROM NAIROBI ON SEPTEMBER 2; TAKING STOCK OF THE SITUATION HERE FOR A FEW DAYS AND THEN MAKING A TRIP THROUGH LUSAKA AND MAPUTO TOWARDS THE MIDDLE OF NEXT WEEK.

7. THE CONVERSATIONS REVEALED THREE OTHER MATTERS WORTH NOTING. IN DISCUSSING THE BISHOP'S OBJECTIONS TO A MEETING WITH GAYLARD -- PARTICULARLY HIS COMPLAINT THAT THE INDEPENDENCE DATE COULD BE DELAYED -- "OPTION B" CAME UP UNDER WHICH A REFERENDUM WOULD BE HELD A FEW MONTHS AFTER SETTLEMENT BASED ON THE TRANSITION ARRANGEMENT AND INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION OUTLINE FOLLOWING THE SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF WHICH INDEPENDENCE WOULD BE GRANTED. GAYLARD MADE IT QUITE CLEAR THAT HE MUCH PREFERRED THIS OPTION INCLUDING ITS PROVISION FOR A CHAIRMAN OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL SEPARATE FROM THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. GRAHAM NOTED HE THOUGHT IT WOULD HAVE TO CONTAIN A FIRM COMMITMENT TO HOLD ELECTIONS WITHIN A SPECIFIED PERIOD OF TIME. HE ACKNOWLEDGED GAYLARD'S ASSUMPTION THAT THE BRITISH WOULD ALSO PREFER SUCH A SOLUTION. WE POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT THE BISHOP WAS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO THIS IDEA. AS GEORGE NYANDORO (UANC SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS) HAD MADE QUITE CLEAR TO US THE PREVIOUS EVENING, THEY WANT AN EARLY ELECTION.

8. DAVID SMITH DESCRIBED THE WAR WEARINESS OF THE WHITE POPULATION. WHETHER DIRECTLY INVOLVED OR NOT, EVERYONE'S LIFE IS PROFOUNDLY AFFECTED BY IT. THE CALL UPS ARE WREAKING HAVOC WITH ALL BUSINESS AND FARMING ENDEAVORS. HIS CONSTITUENTS ARE HIGHLY CRITICAL. HE DESCRIBED A VISIT WITH OTHER MINISTERS TO A TRIBAL TRUST LAND FOR A PUBLIC MEETING. AS HAS BEEN THE CASE AT ALL
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SUCH MEETINGS IN RECENT WEEKS, NO ONE TURNED UP. SMITH SAID HE
COULD FEEL THE EYE OF THE AFRICANS IN THE HILLS AROUND ON HIM.
HE HAD SAID TO HIS UANC COLLEAGUE THAT ONLY WHEN HE COULD BRING
THE AFRICANS DOWN FROM THE HILLS TO THE MEETING WOULD THE
INTERNAL SETTLEMENT HAVE A CHANCE. TO US, SMITH REPEATED WHAT
HE HAD SAID BEFORE. THERE IS NO WAY UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES
THAT AN ELECTION COULD BE HELD WHICH WOULD BE ACCEPTED BY BRITAIN,
THE U.S., AND THE REST OF THE WORLD.
EDMONDSON
UNQTE CHRISTOPHER

SEC

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